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THE PENTAGON'S NEW PLAN

New Republic

Eisenhower and the 40 Farmers

Who were the forty men who convinced Ike that the farmers are "taking it in their stride"?

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

At Eisenhower's press conference on October 21 he declared flatly that he would not put the White House into politics. At his press conference October 28 he substantially modified this. In a White House statement October 29 he retreated the whole way, and *NY Times*man W. H. Lawrence wrote, "President Eisenhower let it be known today that he favored the election of every Republican over every Democrat for every office any place." Watching a well-disposed President eat his own words is not pleasant. Once more Ike showed that he does not understand his new job. In fact, things are not going at all well for the Administration. The GOP experiment of tying on to a national hero isn't working out.

Ike came to office without a program. Political observers watched with incredulity the whole first session of his GOP Congress wasted—the one session which a new President finds white-hot, responsive and malleable. We confidently predict now that the Democrats will take House control in 1954, indeed their present embarrassment is to prevent Congressional control tottering into their hands before they are ready for it.

We would earnestly request readers to keep their eyes on 78-year-old Syngman Rhee. He has repeatedly threatened to fight if Korea isn't united, of which there's no chance, and when the time comes he may lead the USA back into war. If he attacks and we don't support him, he will probably be destroyed and all the gains won in two years in South Korea will be lost. Rhee is fanatical enough to risk this, and he would have the ardent support of the Asia-Firsters, Senate Leader William Knowland (Cal.) *et al.* Rhee has some gasoline and a good deal of artillery ammunition for his big army.

The other point is about trade with Red China. We regard it as one of the most dangerous fallacies extant that neutral trade with China can be blocked now that fighting has stopped. It has been said that if China isn't brought out from behind the Iron Curtain in 10 years, Japan will go in. Mainland trade is essential for Japan. An inconspicuous Hong Kong dispatch in the *Journal of Commerce* for October 30 reported a new $100 million China-Japanese trade agreement, with Japan exchanging steel plates and machinery for Chinese raw materials.

It is human and politically understandable to vow at the UN to keep China a pariah among nations. In Arizona last week Joe McCarthy said the US should not give "one dollar to those phony allies"—including Britain—"who are building up our enemies." But would he have America stop supporting Japan?

These matters are unpalatable and it is far easier to plunge into demagoguery than face facts. But that won't change the facts. It seems tragic that the Administration is not giving citizens some guidance both about Rhee and about Asiatic trade. The State Department knows the score and it's up to Dulles or Ike to speak.

Winston Churchill has all but recovered from his slight stroke, though he has a little trouble walking. His hearing difficulty is a separate matter. This extraordinary man still takes his rich food and champagne at dinner, his after-dinner brandy, his big cigar, and he is as grimly determined as ever that a Big Three meeting would be wise. Indeed, Churchill may force it upon a reluctant Eisenhower through the lever of world opinion.

All the arguments against the conference can be epitomized in the satirical charge that it would be a meeting between a Prime Minister who could speak but not hear, a President who could hear but not speak, and a dictator who could both speak and hear but would not listen.

Churchill's eloquent counter-arguments are as follows: The West tried terribly hard to achieve co-operation with Stalin and failed. It was obvious to any objective observer that the fault lay with Moscow. But Stalin is dead; an unknown sits in the Kremlin, one who has never met the West. Simple curiosity should require such a meeting. But above all, the world public must relearn its lesson every so often of where Cold War responsibility lies. There would be some propaganda risk, perhaps, in being photographed with Malenkov. But the danger in losing world public opinion from not making the attempt is infinitely greater . . . Churchill is biding the event; he has not changed in his views and the recovery from his stroke makes him feel that he still has some time to go.

General George C. Marshall has just received the Nobel Peace Prize. The announcement caused us to thumb through Joe McCarthy's book *America's Retreat from Victory*, a reprint of his vicious 70,000-word Senatorial attack on Marshall, June 14, 1951. Marshall "led a conspiracy"; Marshall "betrayed America"; Marshall, says Joe, failed of promotion in 1933 because "he was incompetent to handle troops." Well, well. Let us now fumigate our hands . . . and observe, "if and when you next hear a McCarthyite demand, 'Name one single innocent man McCarthy has ever smeared,' then answer 'George C. Marshall'."

Notes: Our apology to the valiantly liberal *Milwaukee Journal* whose chief editorial writer, Lindsay Hoben, writes us that it was publicizing Sen. John Bricker's (R, Ohio) pay from an Ohio law firm representing the Pennsylvania Railroad as far back as the last election; "Honest John" Bricker still takes his pay and our indignation is warm, even though belated. . . . It is now authenticated that the Army can throw a miniscule A-bomb in a 13-inch shell; it seems only a matter of time before atomic weapons will largely replace conventional weapons—the Defense Administration wants to end the costly duplication. . . . Cattlemen made a big show in Washington but only partly won our sympathy; they are the same crowd who ended Mike DiSalle's price controls with their 1950 "meat strike"; now some of them are so hard up they have to wash their own Cadillacs. . . . Just because McCarthy is making a "Red" inquiry, don't necessarily write it off as a phony; he gets transcripts of all Defense espionage probes and can move in freely on the headlines.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Wisconsin Tide

WISCONSIN RAPIDS: For the first time since last November, Democrats in Wisconsin were smiling as they convened for their annual state convention. Everybody talked about the "green revolt" which swept Lester Johnson into an office never before held by a Democrat. But an equally important reason for satisfaction is the probability that reapportionment of the legislature on a strict population basis will finally be accomplished after a 10-year fight involving two state-wide referenda and a state supreme court decision.

Reapportionment raises Democratic hopes of welding an effective farmer-labor coalition in Wisconsin. Democratic cities like Madison, Milwaukee, Racine and Kenosha will all gain seats in the 1954 election, and it is unlikely that the Republicans will again be able to block enforcement of the state constitution's explicit redistricting instructions.

In hammering out a state platform, there was little real conflict. The program, in a sense, reflects the diverse composition of the party in that it is a blend of Progressivism and the Fair Deal. Open state income-tax returns—long a LaFollette war cry—is a key plank which promises to exploit a lively issue since the Republicans last year returned to tax "secrecy." On national issues, the convention went down the line for the Fair Deal, including an endorsement for the production payment principle of the Brannan Plan.

Division between LaFollette traditionals and revitalized Wisconsin Democrats is in the sphere of foreign policy. James Doyle, a likely candidate for governor next year, spoke for the party in endorsing a Stevensonian approach to world affairs. "First and foremost," Doyle declared, "the Democratic Party will pay its full measure of devotion to the United Nations—the vessel of our dearest hope for peace and freedom."

Whether such anti-jingoism is good politics will soon be put to the test. Facing a badly divided Republican organization (three strong candidates may battle for gubernatorial nomination) and swinging the focus away from "McCarthyism" to concrete economic issues, Wisconsin Democrats feel that the era of one-party government in Wisconsin is coming to an end.

Anger on the Range

"EISENHOWER'S getting his information about our trouble the same way Benson's trying to handle it—indirectly. That's why we came up here."

"We" are 350 cattlemen from 30 states. Although many belong to the Farm Bureau, the National Grange and the National Livestock Producers Association, these ranchers came to Washington in the Farmers Union "caravan" because "our views are not adequately reflected by the national leadership" of those organizations. "Those outfits," one rancher said, "tell us to leave things be and everything will be ironed out. They're right. We will be."

After enjoying 15 years of high prices, the cattlemen are being pinched. From a 1951 high 520 percent above the 1910-14 level, as compared to 300 percent for all farm commodities, cattle prices have plummeted. Prices are down 25 to 30 percent. A steer bought at 33 cents a pound, when fattened, now brings about 21 cents a pound—less in some areas. The ranchers came to Washington to ask that a floor be put under the price. But the President refused to see them and Benson promised only an "open mind." They left in anger, promising to start a "grass-roots fire." Benson's mind is "open like one of these here Washington one-way streets," a cattleman muttered as he left for home.

That Benson was the spokesman for big "remote control" farmers and middlemen was accepted as axiomatic by most of the ranchers. But their criticism of Eisenhower had the sharpness of disappointment. They referred again and again to his campaign promises, and hot arguments waged over whether he was a liar or a fool.

One Happy Family

THE OIL industry has served notice that it considers the "tidelands giveaway" but the first of the favors it expects from the Eisenhower Administration. In a speech to the American Gas Association, H. H. Baker, president of the Humble Oil Company, spelled out the industry's claim to the privilege of charging 40 million natural gas customers whatever it pleases. Humble, a Standard Oil of N. J. subsidiary, is one of the handful of oil companies that control the bulk of our natural gas reserves.

The Natural Gas Act of 1938 made the Federal Power Commission responsible for protecting the gas consumer. A bill to undermine its authority—the Kerr bill—once before was pushed through Congress, but Harry Truman vetoed it. Oilmen are confident, however, that Eisenhower would bless a new Kerr bill—they point to his FPC appointments as evidence that strict regulation is a thing of the past. And they are primed for action when Congress reconvenes. The legislation outlined by Baker would go far beyond the Kerr bill and specifically restrict the FPC's investigating and regulatory functions

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affecting prices and rates. In the meantime, the new FPC commissioners have shown their eagerness to co-operate with the industry by granting them increases, in rates, and the new FPC Chairman has assured that there will be no "harassment" from his agency.

Estes Strong Right Arm

SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER (D, Tenn.), of the indestructible right arm, is pumping hands all over the country. Up for re-election in 1954, he covered every inch of Tennessee this past summer—then he turned to the national scene.

First he appeared in Wisconsin to tour the Ninth District with Lester R. Johnson, the Democratic candidate for Congress. Johnson, who had helped Kefauver win the Wisconsin Presidential Primary in 1952, won.

Next stop: New Jersey. Kefauver and Democratic gubernatorial candidate Robert B. Meyner thumped strategic areas.

Then Kefauver hopped to California's Twenty-fourth District to help George L. Arnold, Kefauver delegate to the 1952 Democratic National Convention, in the last week of his fight against two Republicans for another vacant seat in the House.

Kefauver's association with a long-odds winner in Wisconsin and his other efforts have helped maintain his stature as a national figure, in the running for the Presidency again in 1956—if he survives 1954 in Tennessee.

Long-range Suicide

A NEW CONTROVERSY is blowing up around Agriculture Secretary Benson's program for absorption of the Soil Conservation Service by the land grant colleges in the several states. Supporting Benson's plan are the land grant colleges, the Extension Service and the Farm Bureau. Supporting the SCS are the soil conservation districts, the Farmers Union and the Grange.

Under the Benson plan, the SCS program will as of June 30, 1954, be transferred to the Agricultural Research Administration, with state offices taking over technical and administrative responsibility and authority. More important for the West, the Benson proposal which was unveiled in Washington October 13 calls for the elimination of the range management, agronomy, wildlife, forestry, nurseries and research programs of the SCS.

Since 1948 the agricultural extension service of the land grant colleges and the Farm Bureau have been working to undercut the SCS and its director, Dr. Robert M. Salter. In Secretary Benson and Assistant Secretary J. Earl Coke they have found willing allies. At a meeting in Washington October 12 between representatives of SCS and Assistant Secretary Coke and Under-Secretary True D. Morse, Coke told the SCS men that the Department of Agriculture had no definite program. The next day the "Benson proposal," spelled out with printed charts and timetables, was announced.

According to Coke, the "Benson proposal" means that the program will be "more responsive to the wishes of local people." In practical application, it will mean that local pressure groups, particularly the stockmen, large-scale farmers, and private utilities will be in a position to influence more effectively for their own interests the "conservation" program. The work of Dr. Salter and his aides in developing a carefully developed interstate regional program for soil conservation and land use might go out the window.

In the drouth areas of the West and Southwest, calling a halt to the federal program for soil conservation may well be suicidal in terms of the long range interests of the region. The Farmers Union, Grange and adherents of the SCS are seeking the support of conservationists, sportsmen and labor groups to oppose its dissolution.

Break in the CIO?

THE FUTURE of the Congress of Industrial Organizations is involved in the rumors, which may break into print before this issue of the *New Republic* appears, that David J. McDonald of the United Steelworkers is planning a political fight on President Walter P. Reuther at the CIO convention beginning in Cleveland November 16.

McDonald, Philip Murray's successor as head of the Steelworkers, is reputed to be unready to make a direct assault on Reuther. His attack, if the reports can be believed, will be against more

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Washington Wire by T.R.B. 2
Behind the Headlines 3
The Umbrella Without Stays 7
An editorial
Dogs, Rats—and Now Men 8
An editorial
Eisenhower and the 40 Farmers 9
by Kenneth S. Davis
The Pentagon Shapes a New Plan 12
by Frank Gorrell
Guiana—Who Else But Communists? .. 15
by Daniel James
James Wechsler, *Age of Suspicion* 16
reviewed by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
The Kinsey Report 17
reviewed by Bruce Bliven
J. P. Warburg, *Germany* 19
reviewed by Hans Morgenthau
R. L. Roy, *Apostles of Discord* 19
reviewed by A. P. Davies
New Music in New York 20
by Robert Evett
Ladies of the Corridor 21
Reviewed by Eric Bentley

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vulnerable members of Reuther's "team" —James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, and John Riffe, executive vice-president. The general idea, however, would be to harass Reuther and to impress him with the importance of his opposition.

McDonald tried hard at the CIO convention last December, as Murray's legatee in the Steelworkers, to throw the federation presidency to Allan S. Haywood. Reuther whipped him, and won the job for himself, because every important medium-sized CIO union except that of the telephone workers decided that the dynamic United Automobile Workers leader had earned and deserved the top CIO job. It was not a defeat, evidently, that McDonald took easily.

It will be fascinating to see what candidates might be nominated against Carey and Riffe, with McDonald backing them with 1.1 million votes from the Steelworkers. Carey is president of the growing CIO Electrical Workers, but for a decade he was a protegé of Murray's, without a union power base of his own. Riffe is himself a member of McDonald's Steelworkers, but is politically unsafe because he is a Moral Re-armament man—a devotee of a quasi-religious movement denounced by other CIO leaders as a union-busting scheme.

The significance lies not in whether McDonald chops down Reuther by assailing Carey and Riffe but in the simple fact that rumors and reports of such plans are circulating.

The CIO has had power and meaning in America for 15 years because it was a channel of organized liberalism, with interests far broader than the specific wage-and-hour interests of its constituent members. Professional people, independents who had no organic connection, worked with the CIO because they understood and supported the directions in which it was moving.

The CIO can't move anywhere unless it is united. A renewal of McDonald's political quarrel with Reuther, a year after Murray's death, would be a clear sign that the two biggest CIO unions—the Steelworkers and Reuther's Auto Workers—are disunited, and that the CIO as a federation is in trouble.

All the rumors and reports of McDonald's plans may be inaccurate. Perhaps the upcoming CIO convention will be completely harmonious, even politically. The fact remains that Steelworkers' functionaries have been leaking rumors to the press timed to upset and disturb Reuther.

It may be, of course, a bluff—like the timed story a few months ago that McDonald would join John L. Lewis in a new labor federation, a story denied by McDonald only many months later. The question is how many times the CIO can divert its energies to meet actual or threatened internal quarrels and still stay in the lists as a functioning and effective organization.

Germany in the World Market

EIGHT YEARS since she lay crushed and devastated, Germany is again driving to capture the markets of the world—and succeeding. A vast industrial pump, West Germany is free of the enormous defense expenses which hobble every other free nation in Europe. And in three short years government-businessman co-operation has enabled her to overturn the British trading position in the Middle East, challenge US dominance there, and begin to probe into Asia.

Turkey: 25 percent of all last year's imports came from Germany; 24 percent of all exports went to Germany. Imports from Britain — 18 percent; from the United States—8 percent.

Iran: Throughout the oil crisis, German salesmen filled order-books, and Germany now holds first position in Iranian trade. In two years Britain's share has fallen from 30 to 10 percent. The new Premier, Gen. Fazlollah Zahedi, is strongly pro-German.

Syria: The door was opened by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, once Hitler's financial wizard, and through it poured German generals, technicians and business advisers. Imports from Germany have doubled since last year.

Iraq: Here, too, imports of German goods have doubled. And German firms have out-bid British on contracts for the key Tigris Dam and for two Baghdad bridges.

Egypt: German officers now train the army, German railroad experts have replaced British on the State Railroad, German engineers are advising on the Nile water-development scheme and on the construction of a steel mill at Helwan. So German firms have submitted bids for railway equipment, the Nile Dam and the steel plant and are optimistic.

After being shut out of the Middle East for a generation German oil men have obtained a 90-year concession for prospecting in Yemen, the Arab Government to receive 75 percent of all profits. American and British oil companies, holding to 50-50 deals, are challenged.

The Middle East trade offensive has been sparked by a government at Bonn ready to ease currency restrictions and support long-term credit arrangements wherever necessary.

The Bonn Government also has tried to ease difficulties for the several groups of German businessmen now in Peiping and Shanghai. China will no longer be required to pay for German goods with dollars or Swiss francs; easier-to-get pounds will be accepted.

During the first six months of 1953, German exports to China reached nearly $17 million; imports totalled $21 million. This is not an enormous amount of trade. But Germany sees China as a long-range customer for machinery as well as railroad and other heavy equipment, and for such German specialties as bridge and factory construction.

A new organization, the Asiatic Club, now sends spokesmen to Chambers of Commerce all over West Germany to explain China trade prospects. German industrialists are determined to exploit their present economic advantage and gain a foothold in Asia pending the easing of East-West trade barriers. In this competitive race England, burdened with heavy defense expenditures, and Japan, entirely cut off from her natural markets in China, are at a serious disadvantage.

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ADLAI IN GEORGIA—A SOUTHERN LIBERAL PROTESTS

ON NOVEMBER 24, *Adlai Stevenson will address the Georgia legislature as the guest of Governor Herman Talmadge. The reaction, which we believe to be widespread among Southern liberals, is expressed here by a distinguished Georgia Democrat. We welcome further comment on this important issue.*

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SOUTHERN liberals feel a deep dissatisfaction with the leadership of the Democratic Party. The coming trip of Adlai Stevenson to address the Georgia legislature and to confer with Governor Talmadge of Georgia and Governor Persons of Alabama has brought their unrest into clearer focus. Talmadge, inheritor of his father's factional leadership and policies, has been a persistent flirter with Dixiecrat elements. Persons, the brother of General Persons, alter ego of President Eisenhower, is the outstanding enemy of labor leadership in the Southeast.

Southern liberals, most of whom rallied to the banner of Sen. Estes Kefauver in 1952, interpret the Stevenson visit to the South as a move to cement an alliance between Stevenson's Northern liberal supporters and Dixiecrat elements. They contend that, in any battle for control of the Democratic Party, Southern liberals are considered highly expendable, and are thrown into the engagement to be massacred; afterward, they contend, the Northern elements of the party make practical arrangements over patronage and party control with the Dixiecrats, ignoring liberal leaders until their services are needed once again.

Georgia liberals point to the record of Stevenson's sponsor in Georgia. In 1947, Talmadge attempted to seize the Governorship of the state by force, and was thwarted by the State Supreme Court after a tenure of about two months. In his successful bid for the nomination in 1950, he failed of a popular majority. In efforts to alter the state constitution to change the election system, he was defeated in the general elections of 1950 and 1952. He forced through the Georgia legislature a measure prohibiting the placing of the names of Presidential candidates on the ballot, and left his personally selected candidates for the electoral college "free and unpledged." He virtually sat out the 1952 campaign, concentrating on the perpetuation of the rotten-borough county-unit system, and distributing tracts that incited race hatred. His lieutenant-governor, who presumably will be the faction's candidate in the 1954 primary, supported the Republican ticket.

Mr. Stevenson's party chairman, on a visit to Georgia, has given praise to Talmadge and pointedly ignored liberal leadership in the state. The visit of the Presidential candidate, at the time of a possibly hard-fought legislative session, rubs salt into liberal wounds.

Southern liberals contend that Northern counterparts are less than well-informed about Southern problems, Southern laws, Southern practices and Southern economics. The "loyalty oath" fight in the convention is cited as a case in point. The resolution apparently was introduced without any knowledge of the statutes of the different Southern states governing the form of ballots. It led to the setting of a trap for liberals, when the test came on seating the Virginia delegates.

"Let Adlai get Hunt and Armstrong to carry Texas for the Democrats next time," said one disgusted Southern liberal, after the seating of the Dixiecrat Texas delegation over the Maverick delegates at Chicago.

Southern problems differ somewhat from those in the North and East. The Southern economy is in transition. Farm benefits, public health, the Eisenhower attacks on the REA and the TVA, and the housing situation, made serious by the influx of workers from rural areas to the rapidly growing industrial centers, are the issues that attract and hold together the liberal elements in the South.

> Whenever there is a defense crisis, the North gets the plants and the profits, and the South gets the camps and VD [a Georgian quoted]. But public health activities, important to us because of the number of military installations and the influx of people into the cities, can be cut by the Eisenhower bunch without a Northern liberal even finding it out.

Southern liberals, possibly because of Republican frontal attacks upon farm prices, TVA, rural electrification and public housing, are impatient of the polite attitude of the Democratic leadership toward President Eisenhower.

"Frankly, we don't like Generals—General Motors, General Mills, General Eisenhower or General Calamity," they say.

They want the fight focussed directly on the Chief Executive. They believe that his popularity was largely a myth and is declining rapidly.

In part, this represents a rationalization. Some of the feeling stems from their belief that the 1952 convention, as witnessed on television by millions of Americans, was a complete party disaster, and that much of the defeat could be charged to Stevenson's weakness rather than to Eisenhower's strength. They defend their position by reference to the Congressional returns, and rebut any efforts at persuading them that the Republicans concentrated upon the Presidential campaign by bland agreement that "of course they could, knowing that the Democrats from the North and the Dixiecrats from the South would give them enough Congressional votes anyway."

Their attitude toward Stevenson is not unlike the attitude of Midwestern Republicans toward Dewey. It is an attitude of growing suspicion, heightened by the 1952 candidate's acceptance of the sponsorship of Talmadge, Persons and others.

Southern revolts against the Democratic Party are commonplace. They occur at four-year intervals. Heretofore they have been Dixiecrat exoduses, threatened or overt, and the Southern liberals have been able to muster enough strength to carry the South for the Democratic electors. A liberal exodus is not impossible; it would be a new threat to Democratic unity, of a far more serious kind.

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: The Umbrella Without Stays

"THE PRESIDENT," said Woodrow Wilson, "is the leader of both his party and of the nation." By "leader" Wilson meant the captain of the ship and not the ornamental figure fastened on the prow. The national leader is one who sets the course and brings the power of public opinion to bear on Congress, when selfish or sectional interests threaten to override the national interest. The party leader is one who makes his party the instrument of his national policy.

It was because they were strong party leaders that Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt were able to serve as national leaders in times of crisis. President Eisenhower no doubt aspires to the same standards. But, to use his own phrase, he is coming to resemble nothing more than the head man of the White House hospitality brigade.

Of the twin roles of national and party leader, Eisenhower is more suited by background, temperament and standing to the first. And yet the role so far has proved beyond him. His lack of mental vigor prevents him from being what Louis Brownlow calls, "The general manager of the entire machinery of government." His desire for universal support, coupled with his narrow and naïve belief in business infallibility, prevent him from being what Andrew Johnson called, "the tribune of the people."

The role of party leader is still more alien to the President, so alien that when he shifts from a discussion of non-political to political issues, reporters see the change from an affable, confident man to one who is tense, nervous and insecure.

Naturally then, when the President's role as party leader was raised in relation to coming elections Eisenhower at first discarded it; the White House, he declared, would not be used as an instrument to influence partisan elections because he was the President of all the people.

Republican leaders promptly and justifiably challenged this concept. The President then modified his stand. His job, he argued, was "to produce a program so dynamic, so forward-looking and so adapted to the needs of the United States that everybody running under the umbrella of that program will have a great big bulge on everybody else."

So Eisenhower seemed to place himself within reach of the tradition of Roosevelt and Truman—who developed a program, then backed the members of their party who fought to carry the program out. Roosevelt and Truman held fast under opposition. Eisenhower collapsed when opposition mounted from men who know that if he supports only the representatives and Senators who support his program, the majority of Republicans will be running on their own.

If support of his program is the test, then assuredly Eisenhower must be selective in his endorsements. For while he rejected the bipartisan policy carried on by Truman and cast his messages to Congress in partisan terms, his program was poorly backed by his own party and survived through Democratic support. In 37 of his 43 victories in the Senate, and in 20 of his 31 victories in the House, Eisenhower's majority was gained with the aid of Democrats. When a cut of $1.5 billion was proposed in foreign aid; the Senate Republicans split 21 to 21 against Eisenhower while the Democrats supported him by 26 to 13.

Knowing this the party leaders want Eisenhower to wave at crowds and smile at photographers while they reshape the nation's policies. So they called on him to abandon his insistence on backing the men who back his program. And at once Eisenhower gave in. In this third reversal, given out by his press Secretary, the President declared that he wants to see all Republicans elected over all Democrats on any platform, for any office, at any time.

The immediate impact of this statement is to free the Republicans to oppose the President's program and to compel the Democrats to oppose it in 1954. Since this program, for foreign aid, tariff reductions and increased defense is one which Democrats traditionally defend and Republicans traditionally challenge, the President is making it all but certain that 1954 will be a year of legislative turmoil.

The ultimate impact of the President's blanket endorsement may be still more devastating. Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson asked for a *majority* in Congress and were criticized. Franklin Roosevelt intervened for men who supported him and was repudiated. Eisenhower, as Arthur Krock notes, has gone beyond any previous President in asking the voters in effect to set up a one-party system in the United States.

Once again, as in the case of Richard Nixon's finances, the nation is treated to the tragic spectacle of a man of high standing and higher pretensions whose mind is available to be molded by the strongest pressures that can be brought to bear upon it. A few more such episodes and the tragedy will be re-enacted as farce.

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Editorial: Dogs, Rats—and Now, Men

WHEN TYPHUS spread among the North Korean armies, in the first winter of the war, the Communist regime attributed it to germ warfare. Ten months went by in which nothing more was said.

We know now why 10 months passed. It took 10 months of torture to break the wills of the American pilots whose detailed "confessions" formed the basis of a tremendous germ warfare campaign.

What happened during these 10 months has been told by the men themselves who may be broken for life. Their stories are summarized by Dr. Charles Mayo:

"The testimony in our hands, from American prisoners, reveals the use of a detailed method designed to mold prisoners into the desired condition where they can be exploited to the maximum. It is a method obviously calculated by the Communists to bring a man to the point where a dry crust of bread or a few hours uninterrupted sleep is a great event in his life. All the prisoners victimized were subjected to the same pattern of intimidation, deprivation of basic physical needs, isolation, and physical and mental torture. The techniques varied only in detail, except that the extent of their use depended on the degree of resistance shown by the individual prisoners. The total picture presented is one of human beings reduced to a status lower than that of animals; filthy, full of lice, festered wounds full of maggots; their sickness regulated to a point just short of death; unshaven, without haircuts or baths for as much as a year; men in rags, exposed to the elements; fed with carefully measured minimum quantities and lowest quality of food and unsanitary water, served often in rusty cans; isolated, faced with trained interrogators, bullied incessantly, deprived of sleep and browbeaten into mental anguish.

"The Communists were deliberately perverting to their ends essentially the same techniques which the famous Soviet biologist Pavlov used in his experiments on dogs and rats. This technique, as you all know, is called the 'conditioned reflex'. When a rat goes through the wrong door, he gets an electric shock. When he goes through the right door, he gets a bit of cheese. Before long, you can dispense with the shock and the cheese, because the rat has been conditioned to enter the door you want . . .

"This is the very technique which the Communists appear to have used on their intended 'germ warfare' victims. Resistance was punished with kicks and slaps in the face, with worsened living conditions, with food rations lowered still further, with threats of death. This tightened grip was sometimes relaxed briefly when the unyielding victim seemed in danger of dying. Signs of co-operation, on the other hand, were rewarded with slight increases in rations, with promises of better treatment soon. No wonder that some of our prisoners, miserably weakened with weeks and months of mistreatment, were brought down to that animal level of response where resistance was associated with death, where yielding was associated with survival, and where survival on any terms seemed more important than the moral principles that distinguish men from beasts. If anything is surprising to me, it is that so many of our soldiers—both those who confessed and those who did not—although for months they were treated like animals or worse, somehow continued throughout to act like men.

"Consider the evidence on those who did not yield. A prisoner whom the Communists assume is already acting like an animal is offered in sharp terms a purely animal stimulus: food or death. The obvious animal response is expected. Yet in one case, a man was sentenced to death 12 times, and he refused to yield. Another man was made to dig his own grave, was taken before a firing squad, heard the command to fire, and heard the pistols click on empty chambers; and he refused to yield. Such testimony as this teaches that the spirit of man can run deeper than the reflexes of Pavlov."

WHERE DOES the responsibility lie? North Koreans who committed three-quarters of the mass atrocities were never a factor in the germ warfare tortures. The Chinese Communists, in contrast to the Russians, were proud of their ability, perfected over 20 years, to win over prisoners by persuasion rather than force. The plan was conceived and the torture directed by the Soviet officers; they even set the timetable. "The tortures of Colonel Schwable and Major Bley," Dr. Mayo notes, "were an integral and essential part of Soviet preparations for the [1953] General Assembly."

No desperate fear, no fury of battle distorted Soviet decisions. Goebbels never conceived a more destructive myth; Himmler never executed a more deliberately cruel plan. Yet the Russians were not even openly in the war.

What can we do now? The first step surely is to reinstate with honor the men who will still suffer harrowing guilt for the rest of their lives. The next is to act in the UN which the Russians made the platform for their campaign. We cannot obtain punishment of the individuals responsible and it is futile to try. We can and should gain the review by a UN body of our grave charge. If the UN brands the Soviet confessions for what they are, then in the future at least, men marked as victims for propaganda purposes may be spared.

But we cannot act alone. We should remember above all that the Kremlin's supreme purpose in the germ warfare campaign was to isolate the United States within the United Nations. The lesson surely is that we must, by our own actions, bring about the objective which the Russians tortured our pilots to achieve.

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Eisenhower and the Forty Farmers

Who were the forty men who convinced Ike that farmers are "taking it in their stride"?

by Kenneth S. Davis

A CABINET officer had just said that the politicians were more concerned with the farm situation than the farmers were. The President himself had just returned from a visit to the farm belt. Did the President's impressions agree with the Cabinet officer's?

Ray Scherer of NBC asked the question, about halfway through the President's press conference of October 21 in Washington, and Mr. Eisenhower seemed to realize that it might be loaded as well as leading. According to the official transcript (always written in third person when quoting the President), Mr. Eisenhower "would say that he thought the cattlemen and farmers were taking this more in their stride and, after all, he had in his little home town of Abilene had lunch with 40 people most of whom, if they were not farmers themselves, owned farms and certainly in view of his background with them, there had been no reason for them holding back anything they wanted to say; and his impression was they were not as concerned as some of the people that came to his office."

That Mr. Eisenhower's "impression" was correct, no one is likely to doubt who reviews with a knowing eye the guest list for that famous luncheon. Certainly the list is worth examining, now that the President of the United States has called our attention to it and indicated that its members may have influenced his judgment of the farm situation.

The first thing that strikes the eye is that 15 of the "invited guests" were members of the President's staff or dignitaries who accompanied him to Abilene from Kansas City. These included L. C. Hall, Kansas City greeting card (Hallmark) manufacturer and trustee of the Eisenhower Foundation; former US Sen. Harry Darby, Kansas City industrialist; Governor Edward F. Arn of Kansas; Sen. Frank Carlson of Kansas (who 10 days later was attacking Ezra Taft Benson's plan for reorganizing the Department of Agriculture); and two Kansas Congressmen, Rep. Ed Rees of Kansas City and Rep. Wint Smith of Mankato.

Of the remaining 25 guests, *not one* can be classified as an actual farmer. Several can be classed as millionaires or nearly so. These include the host, Sam R. Heller, in whose fine home on West Third Street the luncheon was served. Mr. Heller is president of the United Trust Company of Abilene and president of the A. L. Duckwall variety stores, of which there are 52 in a far-flung and exceedingly prosperous chain. Mr. Heller is also president of the Eisenhower Foundation. He owns some farms.

T. L. Welsh, one of the guests, is reputed by his Abilene neighbors to be worth some $3 million. He owns controlling interests in the big Abilene Flour Mills, the Midwest Mill (a feed mill), and the Security Mills (a flour mill not now operating). He has a finger in every sizable financial pie in Abilene and in a wide variety of businesses elsewhere. He owns some farms, including a ranch in Barber County worth some $300,000, according to one of his friends, and a Hereford farm for which he has been known to buy $10,000 bulls.

Of approximately equal financial stature are L. C. Long and C. A. Case, both of whom were guests, both of whom own farms. Mr. Long is president of the Long Investment Company of Abilene and vice-president of the Financial Industrial Fund (a securities investment firm) in Denver, owning a controlling interest in both, while Mr. Case is president of the Abilene National Bank and inherited from his family a great deal of real estate and other property.

And so it goes down the list of 40 men who gave the President the true picture of how farmers are feeling. Reputed by their neighbors to be worth several hundred thousand dollars apiece are E. S. Graham, president of the Home Securities Finance Company; O. B. Landes of the Shockey-Landes hardware and furniture store; R. B. Laing, milling company executive (Mr. Welsh's right-hand man); Gordon A. Mark, owner of several grain elevators and a Republican State Senator; R. O. Gemmill of the Howard-Gemmill Insurance Company; H. W. Rohrer, retired, telephone company executive; C. M. Harger, 80-odd-year-old publisher of the Abilene daily newspaper, the *Reflector-Chronicle*; Will Sterl of the Sterl Clothing Store; J. L. Lehman, attorney; Paul H. Royer, attorney; and W. L. Chain, a former mill owner, now retired, who is said to have sold out his interests to

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Kenneth S. Davis, a native of Kansas, has written three novels and a biography of Dwight D. Eisenhower entitled Soldier of Democracy. *A new book on river development problems entitled* River on the Rampage *has just been published by Doubleday.*

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Mr. Welsh for a half million several years ago. It's true that several if not most of these men own farms in their own right.

Others on the list were invited because they were boyhood friends of the President. These include Joner Callahan, whose soft drink parlor is famed as Ike's favorite hangout in his old home town; Carl Nicolay, newly appointed Abilene city manager, who was on the high school football team with Ike; and Howard Funk, who was also a football teammate and who, alone among all who were present, was once a farmer though he's now retired. Mr. and Mrs. Ray Etherington were invited because she is a first cousin of the President; they've inherited a considerable farm property from Mr. and Mrs. C. O. Musser (Mrs. Musser was Ike's Aunt Amanda) and lived on a former Musser farm east of Abilene, but Mr. Etherington's main business is life insurance. Ralyn Hill was invited because he was one of two Kansas men to win a Congressional Medal of Honor in World War I. Mr. Hill lives on a farm near Abilene, but he doesn't farm; he's a rural mail carrier. Mrs. Roy Eisenhower, widow of the President's brother, who was a druggist in neighboring Junction City, was also present, and so was Mrs. Giles (Ruth Harger) Maxwell, daughter of the publisher.

While luncheon was consumed—it included creamed turkey, sliced cold ham, sweet potato balls, hot rolls, dessert and coffee—there was much chaffing and hearty good fellowship. There was no serious talk about the farm situation, or anything else; there was no chance for any.

ABILENE citizens know this, of course, and while they are quick with excuses for their famous fellow townsman (they voted for him, 2,873 to 360 in 1952) there were raised eyebrows and ironic comments in Callahan's place when press and radio reported the President's remark about the relative lack of concern over the farm situation on the part of his luncheon companions. Joner Callahan himself grins wryly and shakes his head when the statement is mentioned, admitting that his old friend "slipped a bit on that one." Almost every local citizen expresses sympathy for a man whose every remark is liable to hostile and searching scrutiny, but there are some who will tell a sympathetic ear that Ike's little "slip," in this case, is all-too-revealing of what's wrong with his Administration. He listens too much to the fat boys, these covert critics say, and he mistakes the fat boys for the people.

At least one highly intelligent citizen is persuaded that Ike, in this trivial episode, provides "another example" of a distressing facility for self-deception which, in turn, enables him to practice gross deception on the public with all the earnestness of a moral "crusade."

> Analyze that remark and you'll not find anything in it that isn't true in itself [this citizen explained, after studying the verbatim transcript]. It's just the total effect that's false. He didn't say that most of these "40 people" were farmers. He said "*if* they weren't farmers themselves," they "owned farms" and that might be literally true. It's like his statement that he'd go to Korea, or that the farmer ought to have 100 percent of parity. He didn't promise in so many words to end the war, or say that he favored supporting farm prices at 100 percent of parity. He just gave that impression. I tell you that man is a genius at giving false impressions.

Such acid comments are more frequent and open in the country, away from town. Here among the actual farmers of Dickinson County—Eisenhower's home county—there's a marked decrease of eagerness to excuse the President personally for the mistakes of his Administration. If you talk with a dozen or so local farmers, (which at least is more than the President did) you gather that, despite local pride in him, Ike is slipping badly with the farm folks at home.

One of these farmers was F. L. Chase, who lives three miles southwest of Abilene, owns 280 acres, and has 20 head of cattle. He is outspoken in his criticism both of Secretary of Agriculture Benson and of Mr. Eisenhower, and is convinced that he voices a sentiment widely prevailing among his neighbors. The farmers "don't want handouts, just a square deal," he says, and he's convinced that live cattle prices must be supported when everything else is. That price supports are a device for "bailing out" the farmer, as Mr. Benson is reported to have said, is poppycock, in Mr. Chase's judgment, particularly in view of the Administration's notorious coddling of business interests.

Clyde Stevens, a half-mile south of Chase, believes Mr. Eisenhower, who carried Dickinson County 4 to 1 (exclusive of Abilene which he carried 8 to 1) would have difficulty carrying the county's farm vote if the election were held right now. The hostility toward Secretary Benson is, in his opinion, intense, and it has been or is rapidly being transferred to the President himself as farm prices go down and the drouth continues.

Grant Engle, four miles southwest of Abilene, farms 480 acres, is a leader in the local Farm Bureau, a member of the Program Works Committee of the Kansas Farm Bureau, and a director or past director of the local REA co-operative. He himself believes that farmers should wait until Secretary Benson has developed his program before making up their minds about him—but he confesses that, in his travels over 10 counties in connection with his state office and in his frequent and various contacts with his neighbors, he sees a decided shift of sentiment away from the Administration. He's convinced that Mr. Eisenhower could still carry Dickinson County, but that his majority would be much smaller than it was in 1952.

Engle echoed sentiments expressed by others when he said that farmers resent Mr. Benson's "bailing out" remarks, are angered by such statements as Mr. Benson's to the effect that "farmers have priced themselves out of the market on butter" (as though the farmer could ac-

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tually control that price), and are outraged in steadily growing numbers as the new federal power policies are explained to them by directors of their local REA co-ops. The general sentiment, in Engle's opinion, is summed up in the question: "Why junk a program we've had for 20 years, one which we helped to develop and which has worked pretty well?" And he's afraid that the Secretary of Agriculture's recent protestations that he has no intention of "junking" the program are too late and are falling on deaf ears.

Most farmers remain convinced that Mr. Benson is merely yielding to pressure, that if left to his own devices he'd try to return agriculture to the "rugged individualism" which he believes to be good for the farmers' souls but which farmers know to be fatal to their pocketbooks. If there's one thing that's certain, in Engle's opinion, it is that a "free market" for farm products of the kind Mr. Benson gives the impression of favoring is utterly impossible in a world of giant corporations.

Other farmers, such as Ray Whitehair, who lives one and a half miles west of Abilene, feel that it's unfair to criticize Mr. Eisenhower or Mr. Benson until they've had a chance to "work things out." They "inherited a terrible mess and it's going to take time to clean it up." Such appeals to patience and goodwill are common, but of course they're essentially negative ("don't blame Ike for the drouth"; "working out a support price system for cattle is almost impossible because of the variation in grades"; "after all, the cattle market was falling before Ike got into office.") But there were heard no statements of firm, positive support of Administration policies from these Dickinson County farmers. Of course there must be many farmers who, if encountered, would have expressed such sentiments.

Weeks Reynolds, though, who operates the Reynolds sales pavilion just west of Abilene, seems convinced that few farmers in the area are now strongly "for" the Eisenhower Administration. Every Friday, Reynolds holds a sale, and every Friday he hears the farmers "cussing out" the Administration because the cattle market is "busted" and Mr. Benson won't do anything about it. Eisenhower is blamed, too, in less bitter terms. There's so much of it that Reynolds gets "fed up." He's a highly vocal Democrat himself, and he has no aversion to reminding his customers that they voted for this Administration; they ought, therefore, to take their medicine with better grace.

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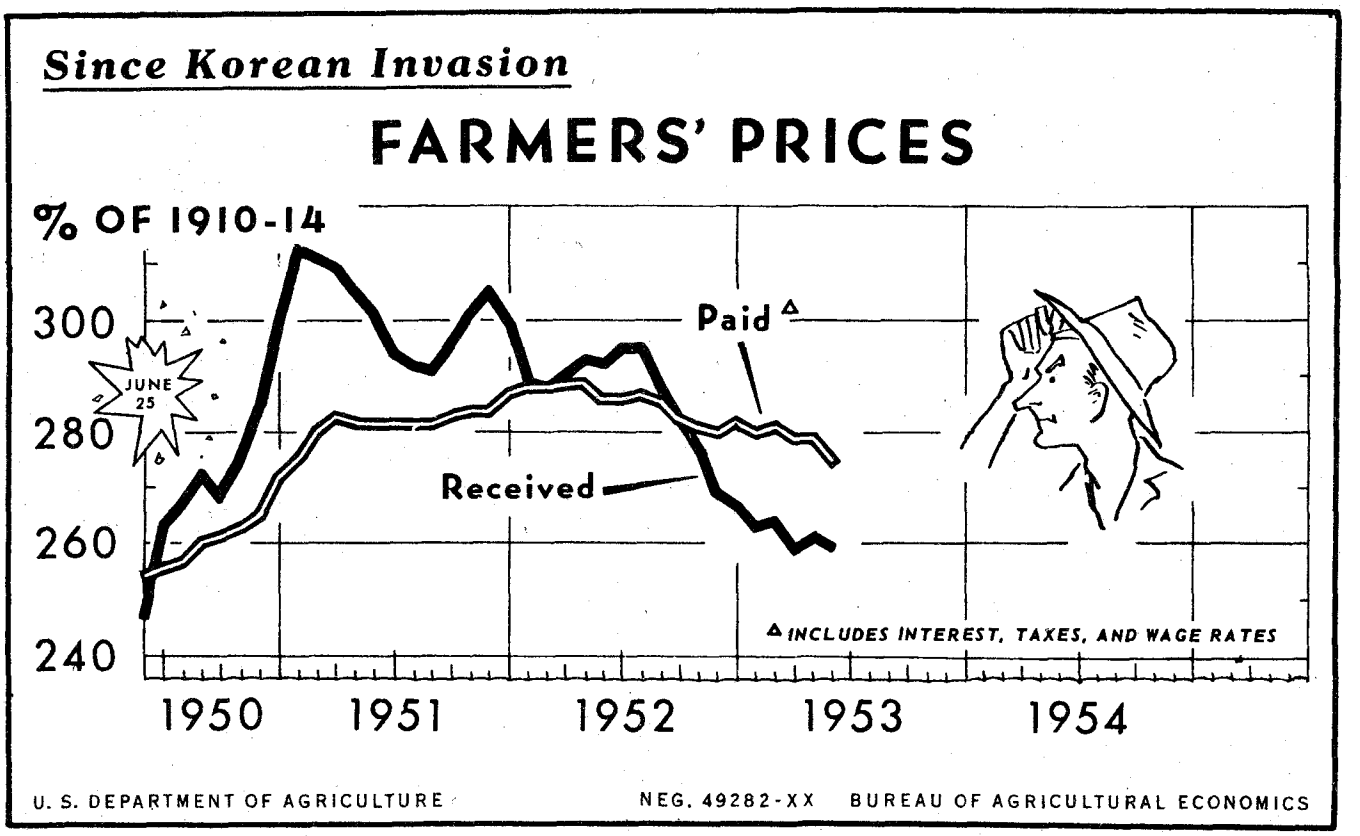
The accuracy of these notes on the trend of political sentiment among the farmers of Mr. Eisenhower's home county seems confirmed, to some extent, by the annual meeting of the Dickinson County Farm Bureau Association, held in Abilene just a week after the President's



Prices received by farmers increased sharply after the Korean outbreak. Prices paid by farmers also increased but at a slower rate. This is the usual pattern of price behavior during an inflationary period. After reaching a peak in February 1951, prices received declined. The decline was sharpest from August through December 1952. Prices paid reached a peak in May 1952 and have since declined slightly. The parity ratio was 93 in August 1953 compared with 113 in February 1951 and 97 in June 1950.

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visit. The local paper called the meeting a "fairly representative cross-section" of the county's farmers, and to it was presented a formal question: "Which do you prefer in a Farm Program, (a) 90 percent of parity; (b) flexible sliding scales of from 90 to 75 percent of parity; (c) a two-price system?" Secretary Benson is known to favor (b), and there has been considerable talk in his Department that is favorable to (c). Dickinson County's farmers, however, voted overwhelmingly for rigid price supports at 90 percent of parity. Of the 160 votes cast, 114 favored 90 percent, 27 percent favored the two-price system and only 15 favored the sliding scale. The farmers also voted overwhelmingly in favor of more federal financial aid in the establishment of soil-conservation programs on their land.

Equally significant of the trend, though not confined to Dickinson County, was the annual meeting of 150 directors and managers of 37 Kansas electric co-operatives, held in Abilene's leading hotel just 10 days after the President's visit. These men have influence over the thinking of thousands of electric co-op members, and they adopted three resolutions:

1. To ask the support and co-operation of existing power suppliers in getting for Kansas the advantages of large-scale power developed in neighboring states.
2. To recommend that the three other Kansas power areas approve and join in an effort to restore Kansas to the federal power marketing areas.
3. To protest the Department of Interior directives of September 10, 1953, which "for all practical purposes destroy the preference rights of municipal and co-operative systems and reverse the power policies which have guided the development of federal power for 50 years."

The Pentagon Shapes a New Plan

Economy, troop withdrawals, atomic weapons, a German Army and the "Radford Line" are watchwords—Europeans are afraid.

by Frank Gorrell

PARIS

THE VISIT of Admiral Arthur Radford, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, is regarded in Paris as the most important visit to Europe of an American military leader since General Eisenhower crossed the channel in wartime.

Europeans know that the Eisenhower Administration has been engaged in a basic review of US strategy. They have not been told, but they can further guess that pressure for a revision in strategy is mounting in the US as the result of five major developments.

First, while the demands upon France to ratify the European Defense Community agreement have been intense following the victory of Chancellor Adenauer, the European army is all but moribund.

Second, NATO has stalled at the halfway point in its objective of 50 divisions in being, and without these divisions, NATO's plan for holding the Russians at Europe's Eastern frontiers is in limbo.

Third, American army leaders have long believed that Germany alone is willing and able to organize the ground forces that can defend Europe. They have watched with growing impatience, while the French have vetoed even the most minute increases in Germany's border guards. A choice between reluctant France and willing and industrious Germany seems imminent to some American leaders.

Fourth, the Russians have steadily built their air forces in the West and now are constructing rocket platforms for guided missiles around Europe. They can quickly establish command of the air over Europe in wartime, making the reinforcement and supply of European armies next to impossible.

Fifth, the US is "running out of the ears" with atomic bombs. The immensity of the atomic stockpile and the cost of a dual defense system, of atomic and conventional weapons, is leading Eisenhower's civilian advisers to challenge the concept of limited, conventional warfare and to base American military strategy on the assumption that future wars will be all-out atomic wars.

This last conclusion is not shared by the Joint Chiefs. It is the product of the amateurs, principally Defense Secretary Wilson, and his deputy Roger Kyes. These men come to the Pentagon with the natural assumption of industrialists that any machinery installed in a factory 10 years or more ago is out of date and should be thrown away. Their central, driving motive is not the defense of the free nations but the reduction of America's military budget. They are searching for military miracles as a cheap way out. They began by cutting back the air force. Now they suspect that they have found the magic answer in the air force and the A-Bomb.

The professionals in the Joint Chiefs of Staff of course disagree, but the pressure to economize is on. It takes primarily the form of reducing the six American divisions now in Europe. These forces might be withdrawn as part of a bargain by which Russian troops were also

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pulled back. Or they might be re-integrated in a new force in which the presence of British and American troops continue to serve as a counter to a German army. But the prospect is for more German soldiers, under fewer guarantees.

France is the nation that seems most in danger of isolation. During December the National Assembly in Paris will choose the man who is to be the next president of France for (in theory, at least) a period of seven years. One of the hints from Bonn has been about this election. Chancellor Adenauer has given notice—in a public statement—that West Germany is "willing" to wait that long—but not much longer—for the French Assembly to make up its collective mind to ratify the European Defense Community—or else!

The peremptory form of the statement, implying an ultimatum, is significant because General Eisenhower has made known—also in a public statement—his boundless confidence in the greatest German (and European) since Bismarck, and his willingness to consider any and every suggestion from the West German Chancellery with the most sympathetic attention. And after the Adenauer "veto" at the London conference, this unusual endorsement has seemed over here to confirm that the Chancellor is a species of semi-official mouthpiece of the White House in Europe, his words speaking the President's—and also the Pentagon's—thoughts.

The first decision expected by the year's end is, therefore, that West German's army, already blueprinted and prepared by Theodore Blank and his loyal generals, will start getting its booted feet on the ground. Since the chances of French ratification of the EDC are no better, and the probability of a French veto of West German entry into the NATO is excellent, Adenauer's ultimatum fits with a second hint from Bonn. This is to the effect that there may be a US-West German military pact outside the NATO, similar to the ones with Spain and Greece. As a matter of fact, the whole NATO system may gradually be replaced by a network of military agreements in which the British as well as the Americans will take part.

Also during December the NATO council will meet in Paris for what (according to the hints) will be the most important session since its creation. It will hear some—but not all—the details of the US plan; and it will learn in the form of reports from the US Joint Chiefs of what the Pentagon had decided *before* their departure about the next phase—the "nuclear-economy" phase. In this phase, the hints fall into a contradictory pattern: US public opinion is being told that the six US army divisions on the European continent will gradually be replaced during the next five years by the new German divisions. Western European opinion on the other hand is being carefully led to believe what Gen. Walter Bedell Smith told French Ambassador Henri Bonnet—that the US troops will remain.

The difference between the two versions, it is believed over here, is a matter both of short-term psychological targets and longer-term practical timing. In any event, the new US plan will make the US Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean steadily more important in strategic terms—as the guardian of a "Radford Line"—than the six divisions on the ground. Other hints published in European newspapers, and neither denied nor confirmed by US military authorities in Europe, are to the effect that the carrier *Midway* has already been equipped to use tactical nuclear weapons.

The "Radford Line" is said to be the sea-air juncture at which these tactical weapons afloat are to be co-ordinated with strategic nuclear weapons ashore. The line is, roughly, the 38th Parallel of latitude which cuts a broad arc from southern Spain through southern Italy and Greece to northern Turkey. Military treaties permit use of bases in Spain and Greece for such bomb-carrying planes as the new US 8-jet intercontinental B-52. Other arrangements permit the use of Italian and Turkish ports and bases. The ill-fated Trieste project indicated that Yugoslavia was no longer on the Radford Line; and Gen. Nathan Twining on the eve of his departure with Air Secretary Harold Talbott for North Africa suggested that the line was north of Morocco—he said that two big air bases planned for North Africa would not be built because of the Spain bases now available.

Lines drawn from the western (Spanish) end of the

The new "Radford Line"

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southern arc and the eastern (Turkish) end to a central area in northern Europe are about equal in length. That area is Germany. The geographical relation between the area and the arc is the equivalent of the strategical relation in the new US plan between orthodox, conventional armaments and deterrent nuclear armaments. There are in fact three levels in the plan: orthodox conventional; tactical nuclear; strategic nuclear.

The role of the first is to protect the West's industrial power in Europe. This means England, France, Northern Italy and West Germany—above all Germany because it is the country which holds the industrial balance of power between West and East not only in Europe but in the world. The second level is a bridge between the first and third, gradually closer to the conventional than to the absolute. The role of the nuclear weapons, both strategic and tactical, air and sea combined—atomic and hydrogen bombs, rockets, jets, guided missiles, the equipment needed to use them and to protect against the enemy's use of them—is to guarantee dreadful retaliation for any atomic aggression on the part of the enemy. The Soviets might win a few battles; but their victory would be suicidal; their industrial power would quickly be annihilated.

THE NEW US plan (or rather the hints about its nature) is already meeting opposition in Western Europe. Some observers are nervous about the apparent allocation of military roles. The *Sunday Times* of London says: "What disturbs members of the NATO is that it looks as if it implied adapting the military strategic concept to the Republican concept of budgetary solvency." The *Monde* of Paris rebels against the notion of bargain-counter cut-rate armies of European mercenaries: while a US Army division costs annually in peacetime some $300 million, the same fire power can be obtained in Germany for some $65 to $80 million, and in Greece and Turkey for as little as $10 to $20 million.

Saving money may be an important consideration in the US, but there is little chance that a German army, especially an independent army, can become politically "safe" enough to take the specifically political risk of removing the US divisions in the foreseeable future. This is particularly true because the horrendous absolute nuclear weapons on both sides, West and East, may cancel each other out; neither may use them, and the issue may be decided—as it was, for example, in Korea—by the relatively old methods. Western Europeans can see no lasting peace in the victory of the West, led in military terms by German arms, over the Soviets.

Another objection is that the plan tends to mobilize whatever "diplomatic" action that might be taken, in the service of military rather than political goals. There has been much talk of negotiation with the Russians to get them out of East Germany, either through the van Zeeland plan, or the Bonn plan for a demilitarized zone between the Elbe and the Vistula. It would be fine if this could be done: so long as the Russians have bases in East Germany, they can bomb Paris and London with their 500/600-mile range rockets. But it would be better if diplomatic efforts were directed, Western Europeans believe, toward unfreezing the present West-East status quo with all its tensions.

But the most serious objection to the US plan is that it does not provide a fourth level. Protecting Western European industry against possible military attack is not enough; it must also be protected from economic and social attack. In building up the essential forces of military defense, the domestic economies of the Western European countries must not be made vulnerable to subversion. As the *London Observer* says, "We must not allow civilian consumption to fall so low that it causes political trouble."

Chancellor Adenauer has given more than hints about his attitude toward labor. The Christian Democratic attack on the labor unions suggests, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, "that an attempt is being made to split the unions in order to weaken the opposition of the bulk of German industrial workers to the present government"—and to its military plans worked out in conjunction with Republican big-business anti-labor elements in Washington. Such an attempt may have success in Germany (though that is doubtful), but it certainly would, if tried, cause trouble in every other Western European country.

Above all, the failure to provide the fourth level of the US military plan is already being exploited by Moscow. The effects of economic and social injustice have permitted the Communists to start conversion and recruiting campaigns among workers and other low-level economic elements of the population which up until now have been non-Communist and anti-Communist. The slogan, "workers of the world unite to impose peace," which dominated the Third Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Vienna suggests the Kremlin's political strategy against the new US military strategy. Louis Saillant said: "the workers of the world want to tear down the barriers erected by separatist labor union leaders," meaning, of course, the non-Communists. Giuseppe di Vittorio said: "The WFTU aims to win over people of all political beliefs. If it is to get the support of both the workers and the intellectuals, it must not be officially labelled Communist or Soviet-run."

The Communists and their agents in the labor unions may not succeed in getting the non-Communist workers in Western Europe to believe that the military defense against Communism equates or condones or even permits aggression against the whole working class. But the defense of Western Europe's industrial power—used as a justification for creating the German divisions—will, if it is also used as a justification for leaving Western European military control and leadership to Adenauer's Germany, without US ground troops, almost inevitably give Moscow a good weapon of attack against the made-in-Washington new US five-year strategic plan for Atlantic defense.

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Guiana—Who Else But the Communists?

Georgetown: A political vacuum has been created in British Guiana by London's recent actions. It can prove to be as dangerous as the Communist-dominated situation those actions were intended to liquidate.

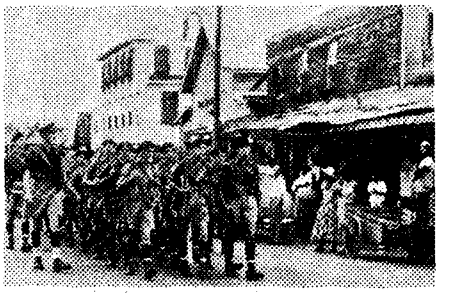
With the constitution suspended, the six Peoples Progressive Party ministers ousted, the House of Assembly prorogued, the colony occupied by troops, and the Governor's emergency powers invoked, a state of virtual martial law exists. This state cannot endure indefinitely. Yet no alternative is in sight.

The debate in Parliament over British Guiana will not end for 40 days. During it, the Order in Council authorizing the drastic intervention in Guiana is tabled. Parliament does not have the power to rescind that Order, but only, at best, to persuade the Cabinet to do so. The Cabinet will probably refuse. The next step will be the appointment by Governor Sir Alfred Savage of an "interim government."

That will automatically raise two profound questions.

First, how long is the interim government to last? Obviously, the longer its tenure the longer will Guiana's evolution toward self-government be delayed. And—not of lesser import—the longer will be the duration of the Communist campaign against Britain. It is doubtful whether ordinary Guianese themselves, having tasted full suffrage in the April election, will tolerate indefinitely direct rule from above. On the other hand, if the interim government is short-lived, new elections will have to be called. In that event there will be the danger of the PPP's returning to power and the reenactment of the whole episode. This raises the further question of whether the PPP is to be outlawed or not.

Second, who will constitute the interim government? It is believed here that the Governor will appoint its members without regard to party, yet will endeavor to have them "representative" of the colony. Does this mean that PPPers may be appointed? Since the party polled 51 percent of the vote in April, it does after all represent an important segment of the people. Overlooked in the general press has been the fact that the PPP is not only a political party but also in a sense a racial one, most Indian-descended Guianese having voted for it. On the other hand, having thrown the PPP out of office, how can the British put any of its members back in the interim government?



Armed British troops march down Water Street in Georgetown, British Guiana, where the British Government ousted the prime minister and five cabinet officials charging they served Moscow rather than Queen Elizabeth II.

Behind these dilemmas is the painful fact that there is no real constructive opposition to the PPP in Guiana. The PPP itself was becoming increasingly destructive, and had made so many blunders during its short tenure that its supporters were falling away rapidly. But the British action has given the PPP a new lease on life, and, though the PPP has not regained its old popularity, it has disoriented and confused the electorate. As a result, the voters are not joining any opposition party.

In examining the alternatives confronting Guiana, one must remember that until April of this year there was no party system. The suspended constitution authorized and encouraged, for the first time, the formation and growth of political parties. It was under this constitution that the April 27 elections were held.

Although a party system did not obtain prior to that time, the Communists had formed the Peoples Progressive Party in 1950. No other party came into being for about 18 months, when the National Democratic Party was created. By then, the PPP had had a good head start which—given the usual fanaticism and capacity for work of Communists—amounted to more than 18 months in terms of achievement.

Two months before the election the NDP split over personalities, and the Peoples National Party was born. Still a fourth party, the United Guiana Party, was organized by the sugar estate owners. The opposition, then, divided in three parts, insured an overwhelming victory for the PPP.

Events since have begun to awaken the more intelligent opposition forces. All splits have been healed, at least temporarily, by the unification of the NDP and PNP, plus some independents, in the new United Democratic Party. The UDP is roughly equivalent to our Democratic Party. It is essentially a coalition in which liberals predominate over conservatives and radicals, and suffers from the fact of being a coalition.

Only one development could conceivably bring an early restoration of the constitution to British Guiana—a split within the PPP which would separate Communists from non-Communists. Such a split is possible—some say, probable. It is an open secret that former Education Minister L. F. S. Burnham, who is in London with former Chief Minister Cheddi Jagan, has long been at odds with Jagan and leads an anti-Jagan faction inside the PPP. Burnham told me during my first visit here in August that he disapproves of Jagan's pronounced pro-Soviet sympathies. The two have been struggling for control of party and government posts since the PPP's electoral victory. Though Burnham himself is said to lack the courage to break, his supporters may take advantage of his absence abroad to prepare such a move. They are demanding that Mrs. Jagan call a party congress, at which they plan to seek the expulsion of all Communist leaders. There is no doubt, of course, that the Jagans and others are hard-core Communists who formed the PPP purely as a nationalist cover—the usual Cominform strategy in colonial areas.

DANIEL JAMES

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

A MODERN MAN'S PROGRESS

by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY has long been a favorite American medium for registering the mood and impact of an age. Our age is presently dominated by the struggle with Communism; and two symptomatic memoirs of our time — the *Autobiography* of Lincoln Steffens and Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*—have become basic documents of the relationship between Communism and the American intellectual. But these two works—the one portraying the first bright fascination of Communism, the other recording the shocked recoil into blank and sterile conservatism—give by themselves a most foreshortened and distorted picture of the national experience with Communism. Neither of them, nor any other autobiography which comes to mind by men or women involved in Communism, have communicated any sense of the alternative resources of the American liberal tradition. James A. Wechsler's *The Age of Suspicion* has been in consequence a much needed book. By setting the Communist experience into a sober, historical context and by reaffirming against it the vitality of democratic liberalism, it fills a gap in the political literature of this generation.

THE AGE OF SUSPICION, by James A. Wechsler (Random House; $3.75).

The Age of Suspicion describes the Communism that most American Communists knew—not the lurid Chambers-Bentley world of conspiracy and espionage, but a world of dull, sodden fanaticism ruled by futile sectarians. In explaining why people broke with this world, it demonstrates the superior appeal of free society for normal men and women. And, throughout, it is a lively projection of its spirited author, the brilliant young editor of the *New York Post*, with his quick mind, his crisp style, his wit and courage under fire and his tested devotion to the never-ending fight for freedom and justice. Less massive and uninhibited than the Steffens or Chambers volumes, less freighted with dark torment and intimate self-revelation, the Wechsler book is a far more healthy, intelligent and responsible accounting of personal and political experience. While Steffens and Chambers were trapped in small, violent eddies and whirlpools along the far edges of American political life, Wechsler broke loose to return to the main stream and to political sanity. He finds himself engaged today in what he calls "this somewhat premature exploration of my own past," not because he is driven by interior demons into confession or expiation, but, more simply and practically, because Senator McCarthy's attempt last spring to punish the *New York Post* by trying to stigmatize its editor as a Communist convinced him that he might as well set his story down. The publication of *The Age of Suspicion* thus gives Americans at last one reason for being grateful to Senator McCarthy.

The Age of Suspicion should do a great deal to help people understand what participation in the Communist movement meant for the majority of Americans who passed through the Communist revolving-door in the thirties. Jimmy Wechsler had been a member of the Young Communist League from 1934 through 1937, from the age of nineteen to the age of twenty-two. He broke with the Communists after the Moscow trials and after a trip to USSR; and, in the years since, he has been one of the most effective and deadly opponents the Communists have had in this country. His account of his Communist experience reports what most Americans who underwent that experience found to be the case; the dreariness of the party meetings, the infinite tedium of the doctrinal discussions, the dogmatic stupidity of the disciples, the absence of taste and flexibility and humor, the unconscious comicality and the ultimate *boringness* which quickly alienated generous-minded young men and women attracted to the movement by the radiant hopes of socialism or by the occasional self-sacrifice or heroism of individual Communists.

Many Americans today, of course, have a far more melodramatic and sinister picture of this experience. That is because they have heard about Communism for the most part from men and women for whom Communism was the decisive and overwhelming fact of their lives.

Miss Hannah Arendt in a penetrating article last spring in *Commonweal* distinguished between the "ex-Communist" and the "former Communist." For the ex-Communist, Communism remains forever the chief issue, crisis the chief emotion, liberalism the chief target, moderation the chief foe. The ex-Communists constitute what Richard Rovere has called "the Bolshevism of the Right." For the former Communist, on the other hand, Communism was an experience of adolescence or of stress, vivid for a moment, but eventually absorbed in a balanced life like other off-center experiences, whether disappointment in love, failure at football or a reckless enthusiasm for Buchmanism or the Single Tax. For the former Communist, the Communist experience becomes merely a biographical fact, not the intellectual or neurotic compulsion which controls the rest of his life. "I still prefer to believe," Jimmy Wechsler writes, "that what has happened to me since 1937—and what I may still do—will eventually be deemed more memorable than my three and one-half years as a youthful Communist."

Since ex-Communists are far more likely to feel the need to write up their experiences than former Communists, it is the ex-Communists who have largely determined the popular picture of the Communist movement. And some of them, of course, were far more deeply involved in the conspiratorial activities of Communism than troubled children of the depression, wafted briefly into the party by winds of insecurity or guilt. Many like Mr. Wechsler who saw nothing of the underground apparatus of the party, stole no secret documents, forged no passports, murdered no enemies, have been able to shake off the experience and renounce their sectarian dogmas without becoming reconciled to injustice and oppression. Only the present mood makes them even consider

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their Communist experience as having importance or interest.

What so many of the men and women who fought their way back to freedom came to feel, above all, was the positive strength of democratic liberalism. They had, many of them, a sense of identification with the oppressed and the unfortunate and a belief in man's ability to create a better society. These emotions brought them into the Communist orbit and, when they came to realize the true nature of Communism, these same emotions brought them out. "The Age of Rebellion," in Mr. Wechsler's phrase, gave way to "The Age of Responsibility." In this, the second section of his book, Mr. Wechsler recounts the persevering attempts of the honest liberals to rid the American left of the confusions and poisons introduced by the fellow-travelers and the Communist sympathizers. He describes the battles inside the newspaper *PM*, the Communist activities in the American Military Government in Germany, the founding of Americans for Democratic Action as the instrumentality of the anti-Communist liberals, and the *grotesqueries* of the Wallace campaign of 1948.

His last section, "The Age of Suspicion," brings the chronicle of liberalism up to date. Here we have the up-surge of the politics of the gutter—McCarthy, Lait and Mortimer, Walter Winchell—all of whom found in Wechsler and the *New York Post* a natural foe. These gutter phenomena drove many liberals, who had bloomed so contentedly under the protective mantle of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal, into the cowardice of silence, interrupted only by plaints about the "police state" in America, and the unimaginable dangers of speaking out against the "terror." Jimmy Wechsler has had to take a good deal more punishment from McCarthy and the rest than these fireside martyrs, drenched in their own self-pity; and he has lost no faith in the essential decency of the American system, so long as men are brave enough to stand up and fight. The sunshine soldiers of liberalism might well ponder his concluding words:

> In the long run, only panic can defeat us. The panic of those who say that McCarthy's political vigilantism has rescued us is often matched by the terror which prompts others to say that McCarthy has already destroyed the Republic. Neither proposition is valid. I should hardly be tempted to minimize the damage McCarthy has done, and perhaps what I fear most is the erosion of those values of fairness and mercy which we have so long treasured. The spread of know-nothingism is currently our gravest domestic threat. But the battle is far from over; it has, I think, just begun. And it will not be won by men who are so distracted by the McCarthy danger that they dismiss the external challenge of Soviet imperialism.

The Age of Suspicion strikes heartening notes of democratic faith and fortitude in a time of troubles. It is a wonderfully readable book, gay and funny, with scintillating twists of phrase and a pervading rueful wit; these very qualities suggest the practical, skeptical, good-humored and humble liberalism of which it is so valuable an expression. In the long run, I suspect, it is this pragmatic liberalism, and not the solemn platitudes of the right or the cruel fanaticisms of the left, which will save us.

HULLABALOO ON K-DAY

THE YEAR 1953 might go down in history in various ways and one of them, certainly, would be as the year of the great Kinsey hullabaloo. If any other book has ever had so much attention from the press as the long-awaited study of the sex life of the human female, I can't recall it. Newspapers and magazines were alerted by Dr. Kinsey far in advance, and an arbitrary release date for press material was chosen, several weeks ahead of the theoretical publication of the book itself. Some magazines actually changed their time of printing so that their September issues could conform to this deadline.

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE HUMAN FEMALE, by Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin and Paul H. Gebhard (Saunders; $8).

When K-Day arrived, newspapers across the country printed several columns of carefully prepared press association reports, done by topnotch writers with, I am sure, prayerful consultation with executives as to what could and could not be said to an audience of a hundred million or so. Despite the heavy pressure that was undoubtedly applied, the stories were surprisingly candid, using words and describing activities that could not possibly have appeared in print even twenty years ago. Forty years ago any writer who even ventured to suggest such discussion would have been instantly dismissed and permanently blacklisted. Despite all this care, a few newspapers declined to print the story at all, though even these felt forced to make a public explanation, usually in self-righteous editorials on page one.

Most of the magazines were rather less frank than the dailies, but equally resolved to get all the juice they could out of the story. Very few of them were as soberly factual as *Science News Letter*, whose excellent report was nearly as candid and casual as the book itself. Many magazines hired well-known writers to discuss the work; this was true for instance of *Cosmopolitan* (Amram Scheinfeld), *Woman's Home Companion* (Albert Deutsch) and *Life* (Ernest Havemann). The *Ladies' Home Journal* published 32 questions and answers, based on the book; this material as it appeared in the magazine had a number of statements ringed in red ink, and in the margin were comments by various women members of the *LHJ* staff, reproduced in their own handwriting, explaining just why this particular statement was of value to this particular editor: "Such impersonal knowledge is good insurance for the married happiness of my children," "Close friends thought the sex instruction I gave my daughter too advanced. This convinces me that I was right," and so on. *The Reader's Digest*, zealously living up to its customary function, digested not just one magazine article about the book, but three. In addition to Mr. Havemann's report, *Life* enticed two eminent ladies into a debate on the value of the book, Kathleen Norris con and Fannie Hurst pro.

When the book appeared, it promptly zoomed almost to the top of the best-seller list, in spite of the difficulties of an $8 price, a formidable vocabulary and style, and a mass of statistical tables and charts difficult for most laymen to follow intelligently. I know a bookstore in a small town in California which sold twenty-two copies in the first few days following publication. The owner, who knows her clientele thoroughly, assures me that only three of the twenty-two are scientists who might have a professional interest in the contents. She also mentions being visited by a number of busybodies who demanded that she stop carrying the book, and were not at all dampened in their ardor when forced to admit that they had not read it.

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The great wave of publicity was the result of elaborate previous planning. Like many other scientists, Dr. Kinsey at heart misunderstands and mistrusts the press (only a cynic would say that he understands and mistrusts it). Seared by some of his experiences when he launched *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Saunders) in 1948, he was determined that this should not happen again. Accordingly he made firm agreements with a number of newspapers, press associations and magazines. If they would meet his conditions, they could send representatives out to his laboratory at the University of Indiana, at Bloomington, for an intensive briefing of several days; among these conditions was the requirement that he be allowed to check their copy for accuracy before publication. Early in the summer, these curious pilgrimages took place; the writers arrived in successive small batches, stayed several days on the average, and went away, let us hope, edified and informed.

Even so, Dr. Kinsey did not escape with a whole skin. Some magazines, left off the invitation list, printed articles predicting, on no visible basis, what the new book would say. Dr. Kinsey has been quoted as remarking that he knew of one "popular" work in this field that was standing in type in the printing office, waiting for the Kinsey figures to be released so that they could be dropped into the appropriate places.

The battle between Dr. Kinsey and the mass-communication media still continues. The worthy doctor is doing a good deal of lecturing across the country; when he appears before a group of scientists he demands that no reporter be allowed to attend unless he signs the familiar "contract" to permit his story to be checked. This policy was protested only the other day by the National Association of Science Writers and the American Society of Newspaper Editors, but Dr. Kinsey still believes he is right.

When one reads the big new book, it is at first glance a little hard to see what all the uproar is about. First, the volume itself is full of qualifications and disclaimers, nearly all of which of course tend to disappear when you try to cram the information into three or four thousand words for a magazine. It is based on interviews with only about 8,000 women, of which fewer than 6,000 were really complete. Even of the 6,000, a substantial proportion are partly invalid because the Kinsey interrogators changed some of their questions in the middle of the interviewing. The authors carefully point out that the sample doesn't by any means accurately report on American womanhood. It overrepresents, among others, those with college educations, youngish women, Protestants or those without formal religion, city dwellers, those living in the Northeast, Florida and California, and of course (and this is important) those interested in a study of this type and willing to Tell All. Even more significant is the fact that it virtually ignores attitudes toward sex now prevalent in Europe, Asia and Africa, as well as those of extinct civilizations. Dr. Kinsey would, I am sure, be the first to admit that there is no such thing as a sexual pattern distinct from the culture-matrix in which you grew up.

And beyond all this, there is little news in this volume that was not present or implicit five years ago in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Women—or at least, many of the women among this 8,000—seem to mature sexually somewhat later than do men, and may continue sexually vigorous after the potency of their husbands has begun to fade. Half the married women in his sample had had intercourse before marriage, but half of these, again, had had relations only with the man they subsequently married, an experience all but universal in the rural populations of some European countries until about one hundred years ago, and undoubtedly still very common today.

Adultery is twice as frequent among married men as among married women but four percent more common among women born after 1900 than before that date. On the other hand, premarital relations are about twice as common among women born since 1900, which seems to suggest that the common notions about the influence of birth control, the automobile, and so on, are correct. In this sample, about 40 percent of the husbands involved know of the wife's adultery and condone it, and only 20 percent are ignorant (or pretend to be, like Napoleon in Shaw's sardonic little play). Active homosexuality is nearly twice as common among the men Kinsey has interviewed as among the women (37 percent as against 20).

Yet the superficial impression that the Kinsey uproar is unjustified is false. In a deep sense, it represents one phase of a wide struggle against our monumental public hypocrisy. We will pay lip service to a Puritan idea of monogamy and chastity that probably never existed except in a highly neurotic minority and certainly does not exist today. This dichotomy between what most Americans do and what they say appears in many forms. We tell our young children things about sex which, when they grow up, they find to be false and, as one adult to another, we at last sheepishly admit they are false. Irregular sexual relationships involving noted public figures are condoned and chuckled over as long as they are loosely kept secrets; but when "what everybody knows" is printed—usually after it has become a basis for court action—the career of the public figure, whether he be Hollywood movie star, banker, politician or whatever, is put into grave jeopardy.

As a nation we are unwilling to surrender our hypocrisy, but we feel guilty about it. Like a suspected criminal taking a lie detector test, we jump when the truth is mentioned; and that jump accounts for the clamor over Kinsey. When he tells us that chastity may actually be psychologically harmful, that premarital relations, even with a number of partners, may conduce to a satisfactory sex relation in marriage, and that virtue may be less the expression of morality than of a weak sex impulse, we cluck our tongues because we are not sure he isn't right (even though, on a basis of the evidence here offered, we can't be sure he isn't wrong). For those whose Puritan load of guilt is extra heavy, Kinsey's two books taken together offer a sort of ready-made self-psychoanalysis: your wickedness is not unique as you thought but has been shared by 71 percent of the sample.

From their point of view, the shrewd editors were therefore exactly right in the way they handled the Kinsey story. With few exceptions, they stood conspicuously aloof from his conclusions; a favorite gambit was to point out that the Kinsey book says nothing about Romantic Love or Motherhood or the Home (and it is a fact that these words do not appear in the index). No sensible editor is going to get into trouble by blowing the gaff on the great American hypocrisy; yet he will not overlook the opportunity to give you the Kinseyian information on a basis of which you may, if you like, blow the gaff yourself. The uproar was well justified; I'm sure it paid off.

BRUCE BLIVEN

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FOR WHICH LOCK

THOSE WHO ARE haunted by the specter of a third world war watch with anxiety three different quarters: the governments of Moscow and Washington, the Far East, and Germany. The governments of Moscow and Washington, or one of them, may indeed decide that a third world war is inevitable and by that decision make it so. The armed conflict in the Far East may not remain localized and may step by step suck the major powers of the world into a world-wide conflagration. Finally, there is the specter of a rearmed Western Germany, the most powerful nation in Europe, truncated, seething with resentment and driven by ambition, trying either to reconquer the territories between the Elbe and the Vistula or to bargain them back through a deal with the Russians, and in either case making a third world war inevitable.

GERMANY: KEY TO PEACE, by James P. Warburg (Harvard; $4.75).

It is this specter which haunts Mr. Warburg in this book, as it has haunted him in previous ones. It is a well-written, informative and intelligent book. Its main merit lies in the critical analysis to which it subjects the policy we have pursued toward Germany since the end of the Second World War. The story, especially in its early chapters, is distressing for the lack of a thought-out conception of policy, its lack of understanding of both Russian and German potentialities, and its ill-timed and ill-conceived improvisations. Our German policy in the forties was brought to naught by the same misunderstanding of what foreign policy is all about that frustrated our policy in Asia.

The picture of our recent German policy that emerges from Mr. Warburg's pages is no less distressing, even though for different reasons. Now we've gone to the other extreme and put all our cards upon the rearmament of Western Germany. Before, we had operated with a false conception of foreign policy which, starting with certain abstract premises, neglected the perennial interests of Russia and Germany, not to speak of France and of the other European nations. Now we are guilty of the same neglect, only that we start now with what seems to us the "realistic" premise of the military potential of Germany. Mr. Warburg is unsparing and generally judicious in his criticism of the successive phases of our German policy. He might have said more about the obsolescence of the strategic conception underlying German rearmament. The accumulation of divisions on one side, until their number seems to match the number of divisions on the other side, was a valid military concept in the First World War. It was already made obsolete by the Second, and has today become the contemporary version of the Maginot line. In case of war Western Europe will be defended neither in nor by Germany but by the United States, and in the process of that defense Western Europe will become another Korea.

Mr. Warburg is less convincing in his proposals for a new German policy. He advances again the idea of a neutralized Germany. This solution might have been possible in 1948 or '49, even though one cannot be sure since it has never been tried. It has clearly become impossible today. A number of powerful nations, pursuing parallel interests, can indeed impose neutrality upon a weak neighbor. Today the great powers have drifted too far apart and Germany has become too strong to make such a policy feasible. A rational American policy toward Germany must start with the assumption that a few years hence Germany will again be the most powerful nation in Europe, pursuing its own interests with its own power. The task for American foreign policy, then, is to see to it that German interests will run parallel to ours and that, hence, German power will be put in our scale rather than in the Russian. By refusing to face now the problem of German unification and of the eastern frontiers of a united Germany, we virtually invite a rearmed Western Germany to seek satisfaction for these two basic national aspirations through war or, more likely, through the traditional bargain with its Russian neighbor.

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

RELIGIOUS MALCONTENTS

THERE is nothing new about attempts to make churches serve the ends of power-hungry cliques and ambitious individuals. The history of Christendom is full of such connivings. Sometimes the aim was directly political, as it still is; sometimes it was "thought control" for its own sake or to establish new conformities. Agitators were not always conscious opportunists; frequently, they were devotees.

In the past, however, the most likely "subversives" were monarchs or prelates, rulers of states or princes of the church—or at least politicians and priests with their feet on the ladder. Today, the field is an open one, limited only by ability to pay the broadcasting station, the post office and the printer. Even this limitation is somewhat elastic, since, once a campaign is well started, other people can be found who will pay.

APOSTLES OF DISCORD, by Ralph Lord Roy (Beacon; $3.75).

This means that the assortment of "organized malcontents who zealously seek to promote hate and disruption under the banner of the Christian faith" in North America is a large and varied one. To describe and classify all of these movements of regional or national significance is a formidable undertaking. Ralph Lord Roy has nevertheless amply succeeded. His unsavory "Who's Who" of the Protestant "underworld" is a book much overdue; it would have been useful ten, or even twenty years ago, with an occasional supplement to keep it up to date.

Among the movements described are the familiar Gerald L. K. Smith and Gerald Winrod anti-Semitic campaigns, the attacks on the National Council of Churches, the fanaticism of the "fundamentalist-modernist" controversy, the infiltration of social action and youth groups by pro-Communists in some of the denominations, the career of Kenneth Leslie's anti-Catholic, pro-Communist *Protestant* magazine, the Melish and Fritchman cases, the Congressional inquisitors who are "exploiting a genuine anxiety over Communist conspiracy" but are incapable of "discriminating between Communism and decent citizenship," and the "libertarians" who identify religious values with "a kind of economic royalism."

Some of the groups and persons described will naturally protest, since they regard themselves not as fringe elements or "apostles of discord" but as the genuinely orthodox minority or as dedicated reformers. It is obviously impossible, however, to establish impeccable criteria in an area where all judgments, even the sanest and most common-sensical, are necessarily more or less subjective. Af-

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ter all, from the Catholic standpoint, Martin Luther was an "apostle of discord," and many Protestants see no greater threat in the fringe movements than they do in the political influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

Fortunately, Mr. Roy is well aware of these fluidities and takes his stand on the solid ground of fact. From this vantage point he invites the reader to consider whether there is not an "ominous threat to Christian values and to democracy" in the persons and movements he describes. This reviewer's answer is an unhesitating "yes." Mr. Roy, through his facts, makes out his case. Not only Protestants but all Americans with a concern for the common decencies of our national life are indebted to him. His task was difficult; he has performed it well. A. POWELL DAVIES

NEW MUSIC IN NEW YORK

by Robert Evett

GOTTFRIED VON EINEM'S operatic version of Kafka's novel *The Trial*, just introduced into this country by the New York City Opera Company, is a failure in the sense that Wagner's *Rienzi* is a failure; it is a work by a composer of great potentialities, a man of enormous intellect and devotion to design. The work fails because von Einem allows the intellectual abstraction which is his *modus operandi* to dominate the theatrical and musical realities with which he is dealing.

In attempting to communicate the brittle, Alice-in-Wonderland manner of Kafka's style, von Einem has settled on two devices and maintained them throughout: first, and most noticeably, the *recitativo secco,* in which all of the singing parts are couched; second, a bright, brilliantly orchestrated major-mode accompaniment which acts, not as a supporting agent, but as a detached adjunct.

The virtues of these devices are negative: von Einem avoids sentimentality, much as he avoids doing justice to the human voice; his libretto avoids perverting the novel as it avoids pointing up its symbolic implications; his score avoids the classicism of Stravinsky, the romanticism of Berg or Honegger, and indeed the representationalism of Monteverde, as it avoids the melisma. Put them all together, they spell inhibition, which is too bad.

The libretto itself was drawn from the novel by two of von Einem's composer-colleagues, Boris Blacher and Heinz von Cramer. As a group project, the composition probably suffered from an excess of advice and consultation. The English version, by Ruth and Thomas Martin, is wonderfully clear and seems to sing itself very easily.

I can't really comment on the singing of this opera in the City Center production, since dry declamation is scarcely designed to show off voices, but when I saw it, all the singers seemed to be good, and the diction was the best I have ever heard. The direction and the decor, flimsily executed as it was, were the sort of thing that *Wozzeck* could have used. Joseph Rosenstock's orchestra, thanks to fine conducting, sounded better than it probably is. We should be grateful to Dr. Rosenstock for letting us hear *The Trial,* but the fact remains that better modern operas—Hindemith's *Mathis,* Sessions' *Trial of Lucullus,* and all the marvellous Milhaud pieces—are waiting for staging hereabouts.

Hindemith has still another opera in waiting, *Die Harmonie der Welt,* from which he has contrived a symphony, as he did from *Mathis.* This work will delight his enemies and apall his friends. Dimitri Mitropoulos gave the work to New York in October, although it had been played a couple of times before. It is a study in Hindemithian clichés, which would be perfectly fine if they were made to function; here they seem curiously arbitrary. The work is sluggish and confused.

The number of poor works that Hindemith has produced in the last ten years leads one to wonder if he has actually exhausted his talent, if he is going through a temporary period of weakness, or if he is just too productive to write well consistently. There is reason to fear that his tremendous technique and his awareness of the greatness he has occasionally reached have combined to make him over-confident of his own powers. A composer of Hindemith's taste surely cannot be pleased for very long with works like this symphony, and we must hope that the relatively sterile period which it symbolizes will be followed by one of less prolific but richer productivity.

Mitropoulos has perfected the New York Philharmonic into an unbelievably beautiful instrument, and it is good to see it used for new work. Concurrently with *Harmonie der Welt,* Mitropoulos introduced three other new pieces, the best of which was a two-piano concerto by Ernst Krenek, an elaborately counterpointed little Baroquerie in four movements as tonal and as tuneful as a Brandenburg Concerto.

The first performance of this music was followed by a demonstration of Morton Gould's extraordinary talent and really curious taste in a little concerto called *Dance Variations,* also for two pianos and orchestra. The pianists, Arthur Whittemore and Jack Lowe, played like angels in both pieces, which they had commissioned. The next day, Gould's little offering was broadcast, and Krenek's—a piece which is important to his career—was not. In effect, this means that some 3,000 people in Carnegie Hall were able to form their notions about Krenek, while several million re-formed their original opinions of Morton Gould.

Mitropoulos also performed a new *Vivaldiana* of Gian-Francesco Malipiero. This work, a lovely transcription of six Vivaldi movements, was, in effect, a bow to the greatest Italian composer of the last two hundred years, and a slap in the face to all concerned. Malipiero is seventy-one years old now, and he has done more than any one else to refer Italian music back to its great—if austere—tradition. His scholarship of Vivaldi, important at it has been, has always been subsidiary and corollary to his own work. In music, the name and substance of Malipiero's work should be as well-known as those of Picasso and Gertrude Stein. It is an odd and unpalatable fact that Malipiero's efforts have unmired Vivaldi from obscurity, and that he himself has been caught exactly there. Readers of this magazine may complain that Malipiero neglected to leave Italy during the time of Mussolini's regime; we might do well to remember that Verdi, under equally disagreeable circumstances, did not leave Italy, and that Malipiero is the better composer. He deserves a much less antiseptic acknowledgement than this.

Notes on the Critics

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR. is the author of *The Age of Jackson,* which won the Pulitzer Prize. HANS MORGENTHAU directs the Foreign Policy Center at the University of Chicago. A. POWELL DAVIES is the pastor of All Souls' Church in Washington, D. C. BRUCE BLIVEN writes from California, where he is at work on his new book.

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DEEP ARE THE ROOTS?

by Eric Bentley

Ladies of the Corridor by Dorothy Parker and Arnaud D'Usseau is a story about the derelict women who live in hotels. A young one, who has a husband that uses a whip and keeps the company of call girls, takes to drink, disgusts herself by sleeping with the desk clerk, and commits suicide. An old one, concealing behind her old lace the arsenic of maternal tyranny, forces her son into spending his life with her by threatening to expose the fact that he had given up his last job under suspicion of homosexuality. A middle-aged one has a pathetic love affair with a younger man. As a kind of chorus commenting on the three principals, there is, on the one side, a successful career woman and, on the other, a couple of hags whose life is death.

However much one might wish that our playwrights would sometimes present human beings neither senile nor adolescent, neither in menopause nor in rut, neither psychotic nor impotent nor homosexual, one cannot declare the subject matter of *Ladies of the Corridor* illegitimate. The ladies our authors had in mind are important because they exist. And if there is a scandal in their existence—or their situation—it should by all means be loudly denounced. The trouble with the play lies elsewhere.

One must assume that our authors were attempting the kind of theatre which "makes you laugh and cry at the same time." Except at rare moments they fail; and when this kind of theatre fails, it fails catastrophically. You laugh when you should cry, you cry when you should laugh; or you sit there anaesthetized. The audience at *Ladies of the Corridor* is often in confusion. Betty Field falls on her face, dead drunk. Someone laughs. Others join in. Whereupon an opposing team forms, to hiss: Sh! Both teams are right, and neither is happy.

This play by two authors is two plays —and, therefore, by the odd arithmetic of art, less than one. The first consists of traditional cruel jokes like how funny it is to see a woman drunk or an old bitch who seems sweet as grandma or an oldster making a fool of herself with a young man. In the second, these things are taken, not seriously—for the word "serious" implies a mature moral intelligence—but very, very earnestly.

Anyway, the two plays trip each other up. If you like the jokes and hate mankind (for the humor is all misanthropic), you will be bored by the titillations of philanthropy which the story is meant to provide. Conversely, if you are one of the indignant, you will be wafted on winds of righteous emotion only, time after time, to be dropped abruptly into the mire of misanthropy. Or you will just be confused. Take the ending of the play. When the love affair with the younger man collapses, the lady is ill. She then has to pick herself up out of bed in order to tell the audience that the future is bright because loneliness is no bogy if you aren't afraid of it, a point which has no organic relation to the drama we have seen, and which is credibly reported to have been added at the last moment when the authors feared the critics and the public might find them too depressing. But what is more depressing than meaninglessness? Or bad art?

By "bad" I don't mean "inferior"; it is no crime to write an inferior play; I mean corrupt; and by "corrupt" I mean that human life is handled without respect—mechanically, unscrupulously, tendentiously. The ending—whether inserted at the last moment or not—is only an extreme example. The other stories are handled with no more sincerity. The dipsomaniac is given a flagellant husband as casually as she might be handed a raincoat. And when the homesexual cries "But I never touched him" we ask, when, O when, will there be a homosexual on Broadway who did? The character belongs to a certain current chatter and pother, not to the human race.

There would be little point in attacking a play which has already been very adequately attacked—except for the special character of its badness. *Ladies of the Corridor* is full of cultural history. The title is from an early poem of T. S. Eliot. The authors' names symbolize the respective outlooks of two decades that have recently become legends. Miss Parker being a specialist in the misanthropic wit of the twenties, Mr. D'Usseau a loyal adherent of the missionary Stalinism of the thirties. You might say Mr. D'Usseau keeps his politics out of it. You might grant that many of Miss Parker's sallies are very funny. Even so you have to be a historian to be interested in such a play, and you'd have to be a necrophilist to like it.

Harold Clurman and his actors struggle hard against a distasteful script and settings by Ralph Alswang (who has assumed that, to present a drab and boring subject you have to be drab and boring). Only three of the performers, it seems to me, manage to snatch some sort of personal victory from the general defeat: Walter Matthau, Betty Field, and Edna Best. Any producer with a sure flop on his hands should hire Mr. Matthau, for he has the ability to ignore the rubbish around him and establish on stage the fact of his own ingratiating manner and strong personality; he has become Broadway's leading stopgap. Betty Field may also be said wisely to ignore the play in that she creates, as far as possible, the realistic style which presumably was to have been Mr. D'Usseau's contribution to the dipsomaniacal episode; whatever happens to Miss Field's face and figure in the next thirty years, her future as a dramatic actress is secure.

If Miss Field was supposed to save Mr. D'Usseau's lurid social drama, Edna Best had the more complex—and indeed impossible—task of playing Parker and D'Usseau at one and the same time. Lulu Ames of Akron is, in any case, an out-of-date and New Yorkish notion of a wealthy Midwestern woman; hazy memories of *Main Street* will not enable a playwright in 1953 to describe the class to which Adlai Stevenson belongs. Of course one no more believes that Edna Best comes from Akron than one believed Jessica Tandy came from Louisiana (in *Streetcar*). If the play could be taken seriously, one would have to complain that the leading part is hopelessly miscast. For it isn't just that Miss Best isn't from Akron, but that she never conveys the impression of being the sort of woman who would have the dionysian emotions the authors wish to dramatize.

In the circumstances, the complaint must be that Edna Best has not been provided with a part. *New Yorker* jokes and *New Masses* melodrama are no proper fare for one of the very few actresses we have left who know how to speak high comedy. It is sufficient comment on the whole evening that the drama, even when clever, never attains the theatrical life of a walk across the stage by Miss Best, or of one of her grimaces, her saying "ooh" with a little break in the voice, or her making gurgling noises to her dog.

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From Our Readers

► Justice Warren

In Mr. Eugene Gressman's article (*NR* Oct. 12) "The Coming Trials of Justice Warren" he explains rather factually why President Eisenhower's advisors came back to Earl Warren in their search for a Chief Justice but I doubt if he fairly represents his legal ability.

Mr. Gressman refers to what he calls "his complete lack of judicial experience [which] means that he will have to learn the basic rudiments of the judicial process. . . ." Is not the judicial process, by and large, simply the application of the law to human problems?

Justice Warren has been Attorney-General of this state and during the past 10 years has helped make the laws of the second largest state in the Union during which it may be assumed that he picked up a little more than the rudiments of law. No judge can hope to memorize all the law and Earl Warren and the other justices know where to find the law in books. It is seldom that a lack of knowledge of technicalities and legal vagaries will cause a judge to make the wrong decision.

As a result of his experience at Sacramento, we have a right to expect that Justice Warren will bring to the court statesmanship and an intelligent knowledge of the structure of modern society; and that he will be something more than just an umpire of contending forces.

The author is quite right in regard to the recent history of the Court in regard to civil rights. The ship of state has leaned much too far to the right. Civil rights are in danger and we have a right to expect more ballast from the Court to keep the ship on an even keel. Warren has been one of the few Governors with the courage to condemn McCarthyism. He has small sympathy for Congressional courts so much like the trial run by the Queen of Hearts in Alice in Wonderland; there the Queen set forth the court rules as: "Sentence first—verdict afterward." "Stuff and nonsense," said Alice, "The idea of having the sentence first!"

Warren fought the imposition of a super-loyalty oath on the faculty of the University of California. It is true that he favored the passage of the state loyalty oath under the circumstances. This was later passed by the people by almost a two-to-one majority so he doubtless thought it was better to have one mild state law than to have an epidemic of little oaths all over the state, some of which might have been worse.

Warren's record in this state has been liberal and progressive; and he has had a proper regard for civil rights. In this respect he will be a great improvement over Justice Vinson. Doubtless he is not quite perfect but is he not the best possible choice among the Republicans for the position?

Instead of being unduly critical, I think that we should thank our lucky stars that Warren received this appointment.

Escalon, Calif. C. P. STEVENS

► Information Please

I am seeking papers, anecdotes, and related materials on the lives and work of Herbert Croly, Walter Weyl and Randolph Bourne for use in a comparative study of their political ideas. I am most interested in their work during the years 1909-1921, and I would welcome correspondence with any friends or relatives of the above. Write Box 4084, USC.

Columbia, S. C. LOWRY WARE

► Peter Viereck

Peter Viereck is pioneering in a new field of experience in this country; it might almost be said that he is creating a new ideological language—forging a new style, in the teeth of the brute facts of our existence. And it is clear, from some of the unfriendly reviews that have been emanating from the Left, that Viereck is suffering the fate of all pioneers in the field of theory.

In fact, the Leftists seem now to be enjoying a cozy little *auto da fé* of their own. The liberal priesthood seem to be defending the empty forms of their status quo with the type of invective which anthropologists recognize as customary in defending a ceremonial shell from which the vitality has disappeared.

Where is the creative liberalism we once knew? Perhaps the Poet will say.

Pleasant Ridge, Md. J. G. HALL

► Joe Hill Speaks

Mickey Levine, who filled most of your "From Our Readers" section in Oct. 19 issue, has been confusing people in "liberal" circles for several years. As one who has become wary of the seductive

(Continued on page 23)

ONLY 38 MORE SHOPPING DAYS TILL CHRISTMAS

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To Our Readers

It isn't every day that you sit next to the richest and most reactionary man in America. When Bill Kittrell heard about it he remarked: "Either H. L. was slumming or you were eating over your heads!"

We were in Mario's in Dallas and in came H. L. Hunt and two companions. I listened, a shameless eavesdropper, while he loudly praised Fulton Lewis and damned Dean Acheson. Next he called on one companion to read aloud a statement he had prepared in defense of his propaganda machine "Facts Forum." No greater reverence could have been given a reading of a sermon of John Donne's. Mr. Hunt listened intently, and, when the final cliché rolled off towards Mario's kitchen, he asked the lady's opinion. She looked up at the ceiling, sighed heavily, and rolled her eyes until I could hear the ghostly voice of David Wark Griffith crying: *CUT*!

"Be aware or beware" is Facts Forum's motto. From a copy given to me by a Dallas liberal who had strayed onto Mr. Hunt's vast mailing list I learned that 126 radio stations, 36 television stations, countless discussion groups and schools pipe out its propaganda to an unsuspecting public. The October issue presents "both sides" of the school debate topic for 1952—the UN. Ninety-five lines are given to a dull but straightforward account of the minor achievements of the UN. 144 lines are given to an outburst of hatred, prejudice and blind isolationism in which the UN is presented as a hotbed of atheism, a "spider's web," a "monstrosity," "the international headquarters for Russian espionage and for the dissemination of Communist-Socialist propaganda," and a "cancerous mess." "The United Nations," Facts Forum relates, "spends most of its time and budget spawning a frightful number of queer agencies and schemes to destroy the American constitutional system . . . and to establish . . . international Socialism." No source is given for these unfounded views; presumably the source is Mr. Hunt.

A well-reasoned case can be advanced against the United Nations. But while Mr. Hunt presents fairly the case for the UN, he entrusts the case against it to disgruntled Generals, hate-mongers, ex-Communists and crackpots. Is that fair? At the Texas convention of the NAACP, Maury Maverick called for a National Association for the Advancement of White People since it is they who are in a moral quagmire; I proposed a National Association for the Advancement of Reasonable Reactionaries, with the motto: *Don't sell reaction short.*

M. S.

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LETTERS

(Continued from page 22)

sway of his speeches, I would like in a more pedestrian way to attempt to point out what appears to me to be the central fallacy in his attractive web of rhetoric.

First of all let us be clear as to what it is that Mickey advocates. He urges "liberals" to stand apart from political organizations (I think he includes ADA as well as the regular political parties) so that they will be free to stick uncompromisingly to "principles." He believes that people can best serve the policies in which they believe by joining and working for such "principle" organizations as he mentioned, although he gave a fairly meager list.

Of course, I agree with Mickey in urging people to join and work with organizations supporting causes in which they believe. The stronger such pressure groups of liberal persuasion, the better off our nation and the world will be.

On the other hand Mickey does a great disservice to "liberalism" when he deprecates the contribution which "liberals" can make by working within the regular party organizations. Political parties are the principal forces which control governments in our country and they will continue to exercise such control for the foreseeable future. While liberals, through pressure groups, may achieve some results by supporting or attacking officials, parties, candidates and policies, even by electing an occasional "independent" to office, they would be far more successful in implementing their policies if they were to gain control of a political party—be it national, state or local—and through that party to win control of a government. Thus, it follows that the ultimate objective for liberals should be the "capture" of a major political party and the nomination and election of liberal candidates. Why Mickey should prefer to leave the parties in uncontested domination by professional opportunists or conservatives whom he would then hope to influence through pressure groups, I cannot understand. It seems to me that liberals should make every effort to get into political organizations and work to bend them to a more liberal point of view. . . .

In summary Mickey reminds me of the old abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison. They stood solidly and noisily on principle and roundly denounced such compromising politicians as the one from Illinois who finally achieved their goal. As Mickey recognizes, this country needs men with courage, faith, and organization like that of the old abolitionists, but it has even greater need, as Mickey will not see, for party workers of similar persuasion who will discover, bring forth, and elect men with the qualities of Lincoln.

New York City PHILIP L. WHITE

Bandwagon

Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin will be the featured speaker October 28 at the annual convention of the American Bakers' Association in Chicago. . . .

Edward McFaul, lecturer in advertising at Northwestern University, will talk on "How Confused Can You Get." – *The Minneapolis Star, September 26, 1953.*

Mayor Impellitteri condemned yesterday the "almost criminal public apathy in New York" and the election law that kept him off the ballot. He said that, were it not for these things, he would have been re-elected Mayor. – *The New York Times, October 24, 1953.*

Slum-clearance programs with federal aid were endorsed here today by Albert M. Cole, the Eisenhower Administration's top housing official.

In a speech at the convention of the National Association of Housing Officials, Mr. Cole said that slums "are economically unbearable. . . . "It is an inconvenient fact that when you eliminate a slum dwelling you do not eliminate the family or families that inhabit it," he added. – *The New York Times, October 17, 1953.*

All full-time employees of the college are required to carry insurance so that when they die, they will have enough money to be buried.

Required by nearly every college in the United States, the policy originated several years ago when college professors would die and not leave enough money to cover the cost of their burial.

Said one A&M insurance professor, "I think this requirement is a good idea, because it gives the college a bad name when one of its professors dies and can't be buried." – *The Bulletin of Texas A&M College.*

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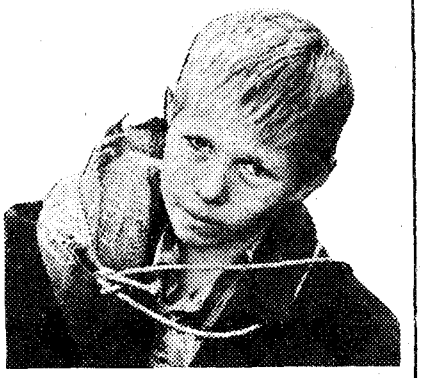

photo by David Myers

James—age 13, picks cotton

Thousands of migrant children, some as young as six, work long hours in the hot sun in commercial agriculture in many states across America.

This child labor is not just healthy chores or work for parents on the home farm, but employment by large scale agriculture in many crops, often gruelling toil in stooping, crawling, backbreaking positions. It impairs the health of these our least privileged children, and robs them of their rightful American heritage of adequate education.

Most migrant families live in misery. Often 8 or 10 persons crowded into one room shacks—unsanitary privies—garbage—flies—disease.

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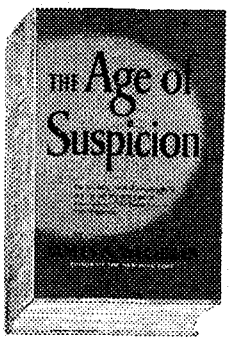

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